

the researchers and, consequently, methodology, theoretical orientations, and models.

Notably absent in this collection are the voices of the immigrants themselves. How do they see their situation? What are their expectations, goals, and responsibilities? Are ethnicity and assimilation mutually exclusive or do they not relate to each other in a dialectical manner? Psychological and cultural factors are not stressed in these essays, yet they are crucial for explaining attitudes, beliefs, stereotypes, and informing the quality and texture of daily group contact. One is left with other questions: Is it always a manifestation of racism to ask questions? One gets the impression that it is when reading Small's or Teun Van Dijk's contributions (the latter's analysis of discourse, however, is excellent, for discourse plays an important role in the reproduction of racism). There is no mention of anti-racist organizations or of success stories in the immigrant communities. Yet these do exist, just as in the United States minorities are increasingly attaining positions of influence as judges, doctors, educators, or politicians.

In all fairness to the editors, they know that they do not deal with all aspects of immigration and racism, and Solomos and Wrench have produced a very interesting and useful collection of papers which begins to give some answers to the questions on the causes of and possible solutions to European racism today.

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Crawford Young, ed. *The Rising Tide of Cultural Pluralism: The Nation-State at Bay*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993) 305 pp., \$49.50 hard cover, \$17.95 paper.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. *The State of the World's Refugees: The Challenge of Protection*. (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1993) 191 pp.

Interest in ethnic conflict and identity politics has led to an increase in the number of works attempting to understand this phenomena. The two works examined here follow in the same tradition.

Crawford Young's recent collection of essays is a companion volume to his earlier *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism*, which was first published in 1976. This new collection of essays, which grew out of an NEH Seminar for College Teachers, examines some of the recent trends in the study of ethnicity. In his opening essay, Young distin-

## *Explorations in Sights and Sounds*

guishes between the instrumentalist, the primordialist, and the constructivist approaches to the study of ethnicity. The first sees ethnicity as a tool than can be and is used in political and social competition, the second focuses on the affective dimensions of ethnicity, while the last sees ethnicity as manufactured rather than given. Using these approaches, the authors of the essays present analyses of a variety of issues and regions where ethnicity appears to be at issue.

Virginia Shapiro examines some of the theoretical concerns that have emerged in recent years regarding the intersection between gender and cultural pluralism. Noel Kent examines the United States political economy between 1965-1986 and the ever-widening gap between Whites and Blacks as society moved towards what he calls "symbolic racism," where the change in racial norms is accompanied by an "absence of commitment to equalizing conditions." Ronald Schmidt examines the emerging debate on language policy in the United States, which he argues is symptomatic of a deeper ethnic conflict.

The essays which address specific regional or local ethnic conflicts present recent research in these areas. Mark Beissinger's essay uses a constructivist approach to argue that the collapse of the Soviet Union needs to be seen as the collapse of an empire as well as the failure of a state. Similarly, Entessar examines the rise of Azeri nationalism in the former Soviet Union and Iran as manifestations of "imagined communities," to use a phrase popularized by Benedict Anderson. The two essays by Solomon Gashaw and Herbert S. Lewis on ethnic conflict in Ethiopia examine the rise of a nationalist discourse which is rooted in an ancient history. While Gashaw examines this discourse from an Ethiopian nationalist perspective, Lewis is concerned with ethnic identities at a sub-national level; in particular, the Oromo who constitute about forty percent of the population. Essays by Woldemikael and Quirin also deal with Ethiopia. The former examines the construction of identity within Eritrean nationalist movements while the latter examines the case of the Ethiopian Jews or Beta Israel. Friedman examines the rise of the Han Chinese identity and the conflict between this dominant group and other minorities within the country. Spitz argues for a primordial understanding of the forces of the Hindu right within India while LeBaron traces the rise of a new pan-Maya awareness and political unity in Guatemala. All of these essays broaden our understanding of ethnic identity formation and conflict in different parts of the world.

The second work underscores some of the practical problems that confront international governmental and non-governmental agencies largely as a consequence of the forces of cultural pluralism examined above. This UNHCR publication documents the scale of

the problem—18.2 million refugees in 1992 alone. The majority of these are, of course, people who have been rendered homeless as a consequence of ethnic violence in the former Yugoslavia (four million), Somalia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, and Bhutan. In addition, twenty-four million people are displaced within their own countries. This collection of essays, supported by tables, charts, and statistics, effectively presents an up-to-date analysis of the world refugee crisis.

The essays point out that policy to handle the flood of refugees is being made in a difficult context—continuing armed struggles in many countries and shrinking opportunities for permanent large scale integration in the countries of asylum. The result is that current policy focuses on temporary protection and voluntary repatriation. The problem is that this requires peace-making and peace-keeping to be part of the UNHCR's responsibility if repatriation is to be successful. The essays in the volume focus on several issues of concern to refugee policy: 1) the climate of receptivity for refugees in asylum countries; 2) the problems posed by the fact that refugees are part of a complex stream of migrants including economic migrants; 3) humanitarian assistance; 4) conditions for voluntary repatriation; 5) refugee problems as human rights problems; and 6) the need to focus on prevention.

The authors stress the important role of states in refugee policy—countries of origin as well as external states who sometimes are the indirect cause of some of the economic, social, and political turmoil. The study makes concrete recommendations for what can be done by the international community and suggests: 1) peace-making strategies including cease-fires; 2) long-term mediation to resolve conflicts; 3) economic development; 4) information campaign to counter xenophobia/racism in countries of asylum; and 5) creation of Open Relief Centers (ORC's) which would allow refugees to live and work close to their homes. The study concludes with an examination of some of the challenges facing refugee protection in the 1990's—providing international protection to those people who are forced to flee and the need to insist on national protection of fundamental human rights. This volume is invaluable for all those who have an interest in the area of ethnic conflict, immigration, and refugee related policy-making.

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